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INAME: FRIEDMAN, Elizebeth S. **Text w/Tape:**
IPLAC E: Mrs. Friedman's Residence , Washington D.C.
VIEWER: VALAKI, Virginia T.

Friedman: ((Cut in))... upon his death if he had anything to...to gain in the—I want to say “literary world”—I want...I mean to say he would have...would have been capable of asking that his papers be destroyed upon his death. Ah, but on the other hand, it would have been much more like him, in my estimation, to have inserted in there—in his papers—something that would only have mystified the reader. And I've always thought that...I've always had a feeling that...that, ah, if somebody had just presented it was Fabyan (B% it would be)...with...presented Fabyan with enough of a riddle, that he would have put it in and claimed the authorship of it. Now, that's...((laughs)) that's my opinion of, ah, Fabyan. And as far as doing it, (if) he didn't have any real purpose—destroying the papers, I mean—ah, if he didn't have any real purpose that they could bring some benefit to him by destroying the papers, ah, I don't think...think he, ah, he would have. I think it would have been a toss and go, really, as far as I'm concerned. Why don't you, um, keep chewing this over while you're going on and until you have, ah, sort of stirred up in the...in the batter jar of all this material in there, and then start to shake it out into bits and pieces. I don't know.

Valaki: Is it likely that, ah, he left an enciphered document somewhere?

Friedman: I'm sure he'd like to.

Valaki: Was he capable of, ah, enciphering himself?

Friedman: Why, I suppose he would be. I never saw him doing anything like that, you know, write down or insert a cipher message or anything. Never saw it, but he certainly had brains enough to. He was a very bright man. He just was like (2-3G).

Valaki: Now, did he conduct any type of correspondence that you know of?

Friedman: Only, um, that I know of...Only with, ah, a few...very small, ah, a few very small (B% hits or tips) or something or other...With, ah, Childs, I think he might have, or, ah, he may have replied to some of Mister...Ah, he and...and William F. Friedman kept up a fairly good correspondence in, ah, in the thirties. And, ah, he just might have...I'm sure that he would have been capable of creating anything or destroying anything if he felt that it was to his advantage to do so.

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Valaki: And you feel that he might have corresponded with Childs or with any one of the other lieutenants who were in the Riverbank School?

Friedman: Um, I don't think there was any mystery about any of them. I think Childs became, um... Well, there might have been (B% family) history connected with them. The rest of them just went back to their everyday... Saturday to... Saturday to Saturday... Saturday jobs.

Valaki: Now, why this thing about Childs do you think?

Friedman: Well, um, Childs represented the most aristocratic in both education and family background as, um... well, um, more so than any of the rest, and, ah, Fabyan would have liked to have proved himself at least equal to be Mr. Childs. Fabyan, ah, was, ah... certainly felt that he had as much of a family background as... of a fine family background as Childs or, if not, it was certainly easy enough to create the aura surrounding Fabyan. ((Pause.)) I wonder if you could find anything out about that... that, ah, woman? Yeah, she was a youngish woman who was left in charge of these books before the books came to the Library of Congress. What did I say her name was?

Valaki: Cora Jensen?

Friedman: Cora Jensen. Yes. I wonder if, ah...

Valaki: She became a Mrs. (B% Twidsa). I've got some correspondence between Mr. Friedman and, ah, Mrs. Twidsa, and she didn't know anything about the papers. She said, "I think Fabyan's secretary was a Miss (B% Cummings)... ((TR NOTE: From outside research, Ms Jensen's married name was Tyzzar, but here it is represented as close to the way it was spoken as we could.))

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: Who was killed in an automobile accident."

Friedman: Well, that might have been the explanation. I'd forgotten about Miss, ah... about her being killed. But, ah, Miss Cummings was, ah, so faithful to George Fabyan that she would have killed anybody rather than have any harm come to Fabyan through her.

Valaki: So that if... Well, upon his death she found that there were papers which tended to, ah, denigrate him...

Friedman: Incriminate...

Valaki: Yes. Or incriminate him, would she have destroyed them?

Friedman: Yes. Yes, I'm sure she would.

Valaki: Ah, did, ah...

Friedman: If you want to write that down on, ah, something to deal with this subject, why...

Valaki: Okay. I've got a copy of it, right?

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- Friedman:** Oh! Ahh! Well, as for Miss Cummings, she was so loyal, ah, to him and would have done anything that he commanded. ((Pause.)) In fact, she would have not needed a commandment to destroy his papers, but was perfectly careful... ((Aircraft passes overhead)) but was perfectly capable, ah, to, ah...ah, capable of, ah, destroying his—Fabyan's—his—Fabyan's—ah, papers if she thought there was even the slightest danger of anything incriminating to him, he said.
- Valaki:** When...When Fabyan died, would her...Would the papers have come into Mrs. Fabyan's hands? Would...?
- Friedman:** Mm hmm.
- Valaki:** They would have.
- Friedman:** They did, I know. And, ah, I think that she destroyed what she wanted to destroy... What she herself wanted to destroy she did, and the others she turned over to the Library of Congress—I think! It could be I could be mistaken about that. But I wouldn't swear that I ever saw them, but I...I mean, that I ever saw them after his death...ah, after her death, I mean. Ah, I am not sure that I ever have gone and looked at them since, ah, he...since she died, and, ah, so I...I just don't know. Well, ah, let's put it this way. There were at least three people that I can think of who would have destroyed George Fabyan's papers for the sake of something that might have—ah, what's the word I want there? ((Chuckles))—that might have, um, ((long pause)) um...Well, I don't know how to say it any better than I...than I did. You say here, "If they're not destroyed, where might they be?" Well, I can't imagine that. There was nobody, not even the...the wards, the orphans, who...for whom he had been named, um, the Lord High Mogul, you know. He had some of those, because people...You know how people are. They think somebody's got a great name and, ah, will, ah, order these, ah, papers left for him and, ah...People have a lot of crazy ideas about, ah, what should be destroyed and what shouldn't. I think on the whole, that the general tendency is for people not to destroy papers, but if they think there is the slightest suspicion of, ah, anyone unwilling to...to, ah, destroy the papers on their own, I...I just, ah...I think that some people would do it, and some people wouldn't. And I think that George Fabyan is, ah, one who wouldn't. I mean, his attitude would be, ah, to shrug his shoulders and say, "Well, what the hell! That's not going to hurt anybody," or I'm afraid to throw that out because of so-and-so. (B% Of course,) that just doesn't make sense. ((Long pause here.)) Ah, this, ah, first sentence you've stated really in quite an intriguing manner: "You think it was in Fabyan's character to order her papers destroyed upon her death?" Well, that is an interesting angle. Most of the time you don't...you don't think of...of surviving, ah, papers in that way. ((Pause.)) What did you tell me about, ah, a wealth of, ah, of printed pamphlets and so on...on Riverbank there in the Library of Congress? Didn't you say...?
- Valaki:** Not...Well, there is, um...I think there are two sets of the Riverbank

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papers in the Library of Congress. One is a bound...is a complete set bound as a single volume, and the other is, ah, is the individual pamphlets. And, ah, that's just that I know of. And the rest of the material is...Well, the "Bacon Shakespeare," I think about half of the material of the over 3,000 items is, ah, Bacon Shakespeare, and Elizabethan England, just, and so on, and, ah, relatively little—well, ah, I don't know about relatively little—maybe about...I would say less than half maybe is on cryptology, but that's substantial—no less than half. There are also odd things like, ah, military manuals from the First World War, and some things which border on the occult, and I couldn't tell whether Fabyan was attracted to, or repelled by, the occult. It was hard to say, but, um, just from the things...And I also couldn't tell whether the collection consists of material just taken off somebody's bookshelf as might be, or whether it was really the, ah, working library of a research institution, because there were odd little things in it too.

Friedman: Mm hmm. Well, I confess that I wouldn't have an absolute yes-or-no answer to this; not to any one of them even. There are three questions in here: two expressed and one why. Have you ever been out around Geneva, Illinois?

Valaki: No.

Friedman: Never called anybody that, ah, lived there, huh?

Valaki: No. We...We talked with Mr. Childs because he was there, but I think his, um, his impressions were rather limited. He did mention something interesting though, and that is that, ah, he suspected that the rooms were bugged, as they say now. And he said years later...many years later, I think after he retired and so on that he asked Mr. Friedman whether the rooms were indeed bugged, and Mr. Friedman said, yes they were.

Friedman: Hum!

Valaki: And I thought that was curious.

Friedman: Who was furious?

Valaki: Cur...I thought it was curious.

Friedman: Curious! Curious!

Valaki: Yes, because I don't know what...what he could learn from four brand new lieutenants who would, ah...you know, with respect to cryptology, certainly just off the street and just as dumb as they could be. They couldn't possibly have known anything.

Friedman: Hmm. Mm hmm.

Valaki: And, ah, they...As I gather, they had...They had no interesting experiences to discuss...

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: So I just found it curious.

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Friedman: Hum. Well, maybe we'll get some...some idea sometime in the night.
((Chuckles.))

Valaki: I don't know about, ah, to what extent...I don't know whether it's important to know, but I think it's important to have asked the question, and now I've gotten that off the list.

Friedman: Mm hm m. Yeah.

Valaki: Why...Well, thanks again, Mrs. Friedman.

Friedman: Well, don't thank me. It's been interesting, and I think I may have learned a few things that weren't very clear before, probably an enormity of things that went on that I didn't pay any attention to.

Valaki: I've been trying to put together the pieces, and, ah, we'll never make the whole picture because, ah, we'll never recoup all of the picture, but just...At least we'll get some of the perspective straightened out. I think that would help a lot...put some other things into perspective as a result. But some...I think...Well, sometime, um, I myself would love to do a profile on you.

Friedman: Oh!

Valaki: Girl cryptanalyst and all that. I would think it would be extremely interesting to people to read.

Friedman: What did the...What happened the other day? Something happened the other day that, ah...I was somewhere. I can't even remember where it was now. I wasn't aware that I was within hearing distance of anybody when all of a sudden I realized there were some people over there who were talking about me. ((Laughs.)) And I was a little (1G).

Valaki: How interesting! Was this out in public?

Friedman: Well, more or less public. Um, where was that? ((Long pause.)) (B% People were) coming. Somewhere up on the Hill. I'm very seldom up on the Hill anymore, or very little. Oh, I didn't think it was of any importance at the time, and it probably isn't. It was probably somebody that I knew so very casually, but I practically couldn't even remember her name, but remembered certain experiences in connection with her. Did you say something about where is going?

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Valaki: Ah, (1G)

Friedman: Where?

Valaki: She...Ah, she works at the Agency.

Friedman: Oh. But I mean right now. Her mother is supposed to be here from California; get in this...this weekend...Be here...I mean, either...either Saturday or Sunday...Monday. Oh, I don't know. Somewhere along in (1G). And I haven't called because I had the peculiar feeling that I...maybe I had a tech (sic) of intestinal flu, so I just...I didn't feel that...I was sick in the right places to...((laughs)). Oh my! And, ah, and so I was

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just going along, (1-2G) I must call them up tonight. ((TR Note: recorder shut off here))

Valaki: ((Recorder turned on again.)) Okay.

Friedman: Well, ah, after he had satisfied his, ah, penchant for gossiping with this, that and every other person, Fabyan, ah, turned to sit down in the chair next to me. I was next...He had put me next to the window and at the front of the car. So here was the wall of the car over there, and here am I sitting here. And...So I smiled at him and thought I was being proper socially and doing correctly what I should, I thought. And, you know, I'd heard the fact that he was a millionaire, and, ah, all that. So you kind of watch your Ps and Qs, and, ah, I was, ah, acting, I thought, naturally. And, ah, he sat down by me then finally after he had finished, ah, rattling his, ah, tongue for all the minutes the train had been sitting still before pulling out to go west, and, ah, he leaned forward right...I mean, right, ah...I mean, here...And he...I'm representing Fabyan now. He...He's this close, and he gets over and he leans right in my face and he says, "Well, what in hell do you know!" Didn't I tell you this?

Valaki: (B% No.) Yes, you did.

Friedman: And, ah, I looked at him and turned my head like this, which is a manner of disrespect in itself, and I said, "That remains, sir, for you to find out!" Well, he roared! He could have been heard from end...one end of the car to the other. And, ah, so we got out to Riverbank and, ah, was met by a chauffeur, not...certainly not the one that was in Chicago, or the limousine. We were furnished a new pair ((laughs)) of, um, car...limousine and chauffeur, and we drove on. And by this time part of the company, which assembled and worked there during that summer for some time afterwards, ah, met right then and there as I got to, ah, Riverbank, and he didn't show me around much at all. I was just taken in and introduced to Mrs. Gallup and Miss Wells, her sister, and, ah, the...I was then told that, ah, I could freshen up at the bedroom in the such-and-such a place in this house that we were...we had arrived at where we were taken and our...were to be stowed there with our luggage. Well, um, dinner was being served more or less promptly, in fact, quite quickly after that. I just freshened up and, ah, met Mrs. Gallup and her sister, Miss Kate Wells. Ah, they were both obviously aristocrats in manners and behavior, and, ah, so I was told that I would eat at the table with the scientists and, ah, with Mrs. Gallup as hostess. Ah, I will say for Fabyan, that he took wonderful care of the people. They were beholden to him; there's no question about it! ((Chuckles.)) They were beholden to him, and not that he spilled his money out in such great quantities, but, ah, he...He was always doing things for you, and things that you couldn't get out of accepting. You knew you didn't want to, and you'd be sorry, but nevertheless you would be carried through and go right on with this. Well, ah, we talked about, ah, Boston and people there, and we talked about England, London and people there. And, ah, we finally got down to brass

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tacks and talked about what was, ah, really, ah, the, ah, meaning of, ah, ((long pause))...Dear me! My...My thought's gone now. Well, never mind. Well, I thought to myself when I went...when I went up to bed later on...He came and talked to me after he had gone to his own home, had gotten into his country clothes, which were invariably a riding habit, leather bootees and a Prince Albert riding coat—split tails on the cutaway coat—and, ah...ah, I don't recall if we had to do any more formal attire than that. I think that was about it. And then we went our separate ways, and, ah, Fabyan started explaining to me some of the, ah, ambiguities of, ah, biliteral cipher of Sir Francis Bacon, and after a while I was excused and, ah, went up to, ah, bed. And I found on my bedside table enormous bowl of fruit, and, ah, and a pitcher of...a pitcher of ice water and an enormous bowl of, ah, fruit, and the implements to eat it with. So I said to myself, "Ah ha! So we buy us, do we!" ((Laughs.)) Well, ah, time went on after that and things sort of developed slowly. Ah, I don't know what all happened. We probably had to...If I remember rightly, it was a Friday...That was a Friday afternoon, late, when we got out to Riverbank to the estate, so the next day would begin a Sunday. Well, there was no place where Fabyan felt that these aristocratic ladies, like Mrs. Gallup and her sister...Mrs. Gallup did look the aristocrat to the tips of her fingers. ((Stressed by speaker.)) And, ah, so, ah, that was, ah...We had an evening of chat and talk about the biliteral cipher, and Fabyan got this screen run down that had an example of a cipher message which came out of the pages of a Shakespeare (B% folio). Well, as I said, I went upstairs and there was a bowl of fruit and a pitcher of ice water, and, ah, I guess they must have supplied me with a man's pajamas because I didn't take anything, you see. He didn't let me get any clothes to go. I just went as was. Well, at the moment I can't remember what was much...the result of that. The next day I can't remember whether he persuaded me to stay over a second day without any clothing, ah, or whether he let me go on the second day, but it certainly was no more than two days that I spent there. And then I had this, ah, proposition of, ah, what I would do, showing me the photographs, the...that were rolled like a scroll or a window blind, and, ah, those were, ah, produced, and, ah, carried out. And Mrs. Gallup explained each one, what they meant, and, ah, where the message...what the message was that was in that particular spot on the screen right now and all that kind of stuff. And so that was, ah, that was the start of things at Riverbank. And in about two days I was allowed to go back to Chicago to my...where I had left my clothes and so on at a friend's house, and that was that. And, ah, I can't remember whether he sort of ordered me around about clothes and what I should spend on clothes, or not spend on clothes and so forth. Um, well, I guess within about five days, roughly, I came back with, ah, such clothing as I had available up there in Illinois, and, ah, went on, accepted that, and went to Riverbank, and I stayed in Englelew Cottage, which...where we were eating—dining—we always had Danish or Swedish cooks and marvelous

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food! Ah, that was in the lodge where Mrs. Gallup and Miss Wells lived, a very handsome sort of...maybe 1890 period house. And, ah, then he started, ah, working on me about working for him. Well, he was, ah...Ah, since I hadn't been able to earn much money at all before that in the short time I had been out of college—this was a very small salary indeed to go in there—but he answered to that, ah...ah, any clothes that I bought—and I must buy clothes and he ordered me what to buy—um, he said, um, that, ah, the, ah, custom was that you...you did so-and-so, but everything had to be Marshall Fields, you know, the...that idiotic idea that rich people still have that because you've got a name, you amount to something and you get a special price for it. It wasn't true then, and it isn't true now, as far as I know. Do you know?

Valaki: Huh uh. Not to my knowledge.

Friedman: Well, I remember when fall came along I was still...I was still working, ah, at Riverbank and with Mrs. Gallup, with her (B% two-form type) and all of that rigmarole. And so we went on working, sort of settled into a routine, and you do this. Professor so-and-so from so-and-so college is coming and, ah, we'll just, ah, get along fine. We'll see if we can't, ah...ah, in...we can't induce him to stay and, ah, go on with the experiment and so on. Well, ah, we fiddled along like that for several months, and, ah, I...I don't know. I...I don't...really don't remember how immediately we came to, ah, dealing in the, ah, res...response to, ah...ah, Riverbank... ((TR Note: recorder shut off here.))

Valaki: ((Cut in)) Mostly, to get back to Riverbank and writing the Riverbank publications. I've been wondering how you...the, um, those books...those little manuals were tested, or whether they were tested. For example, when they were written, was a bunch of traffic given to somebody to try out using the manuals? You know, like a cookbook, you...To test a cookbook, you make the cake, and if it falls, there's something missing, you know, or perhaps the instructions aren't very clear. So I was wondering whether that cookbook approach was used in writing the manuals.

Friedman: I...I feel no confidence whatever to speak on that point; wouldn't have the faintest idea what to say.

Valaki: Hum. Um, you participated in writing one of the manuals though, didn't you...one of the, ah, Riverbank books?

Friedman: Yeah, the running-key cipher. Ah, admitted...Even in those days I was admitted to have been one of the authors of, ah...

Valaki: ((Chuckles.)) And when...Ah, was that based on the Hindu cipher...on your experiences working on that particular problem?

Friedman: Oh, heavens! I don't know.

Valaki: You don't remember?

Friedman: It has to be awfully recent it seems to me, if you remember a thing like

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that. I...I don't know.

Valaki: Um, when you took statistics in those days, did you, um...How did you count the, ah, text? This is the letter statistics—did you use the statistics which were already published by Parker Hitt, or Kasiski, or did you use, ah...Did you develop your own, ah, batch of statistics on languages?

Friedman: I plain don't know! I comprehend, ah, both the questions, whichever course you take, but, ah, I, ah, I...My feeling of...My intuitive feeling would be that since my husband was being driven all the time by Fabyan to do this or that or the other—always, of course, being something that would be to Fabyan's liking—ah, I just have the feeling that, ah, Mr., ah, Friedman would...would know when he was beaten as far as acknowledging, ah, this other matter that you just mentioned. Um, and that he then may have encouraged Fabyan to take on more of the same idea, because I...Personally I don't ever remember talking to him about it, because my feeling would be just...If somebody asked me about it now, my feeling would be...Well, I would...If you asked me that, I'd say, ah, "Well, sure; go ahead. The more you do that I don't have to do, why, the more pleased I am." ((Partially blocked by jet noise.))

Valaki: Mm hmm. Ah, did you ever have the feeling that Fabyan gave the same materials to, ah, different people to work on independently to see how they'd come out?

Friedman: Well, we...We were convinced that anything that was decided (B% that) could be found to do, he would do it. ((Laughs.))

Valaki: I was wondering, ah, we...I found one reference in archives to the fact that, um, I think it was Van Deman—I'm not sure; it may have been Mauborgne or Moorman—but sent, ah, some identical messages to, ah, three bunches of people to try out: ah, Manly, um, Hitt, and as well to Colonel Fabyan. And, well, this is why I'm so interested in finding the other half of the correspondence, (B% especially found) what happened to it. And, ah, I wish I could find the correspondence that, ah...the Fabyan correspondence. It must have been fantastic.

Friedman: Yes, I imagine so. Although there was not nearly as much as I would have expected. The first time that I heard, ah, that Mrs. Fabyan had died and left, ah...definitely left the collection to the Library of Congress. It was already there, you see. And, ah, other than that, there was a sentence about Goff, and in finding, ah...you know, that was something that was, ah, well, crooked you'd have to say to be really truthful. You want to turn that off? It's all right if you, ah, won't forget to turn it back on.

Valaki: Yes, I will.

Friedman: And, um, I don't think that, ah, Colonel Fabyan ever had a real, definite knowledge of what point he was going to take...at the next corner...which direction he was going to take at the next corner, or, ah, exactly what he was going to do about whether he was going to give the, ah...his, ah, Shakespeare collection away. Of course, his Shakespeare collection was

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really quite valuable in a general sense, because he...He didn't confine himself at all in his collection to Bacon. He...He went in for everything of that period in a big way, you know, and it was really a...was really quite a...If I had made the gift, I would have been very proud of the gift.

Valaki: Uh huh. Well, how did he get started on collecting on cryptology though?

Friedman: Well, he thought, I suppose, that, ah, Elizabeth Wells Gallup and her Baconian offering was, ah, going to be the foundation of a whole new science.

Valaki: And did he himself go out and order books? Were there already books on cryptology at the time you arrived on the scene?

Friedman: Yes. And he might have gone to the library as a curiosity to look over some physical presence of something or other, but he...He had no scholarly interest in books at all. I mean, he...They might as well have been, ah, Chinese or Japanese as far as...as, ah, anybody else was concerned. But as far as he...So far as he himself, ah, was concerned, ah, he didn't, ah...All he could think of was achieve success, and usually parenthetically in there was spectacular. Be spectacular. That's...That's the way you...you get things—you become spectacular and then they come your way. That was his attitude about everything.

Valaki: When, ah...I take it then he also was the one who got in touch with, ah, Professor Manly at the University of Chicago.

Friedman: It was who?

Valaki: It was Fabyan who, ah, initiated the contact with Professor Manly.

Friedman: At the University of Chicago. Yes.

Valaki: Was that...Was...Or, ah...Did they become known to each other through Washington when Manly, who was known as a cipher expert, and Manly...?

Friedman: No. Manly was out at Riverbank when we were there. I remember distinctly showing him, ah, sheets of...enlargements of cipher letters and the racks of stuff that my husband had been...had...had, ah, produced by order of Colonel Fabyan.

Valaki: Were all those enlargements...those photographs, ah, done by your husband? By Mr. Friedman?

Friedman: I think so. I think so.

Valaki: I saw them mounted in a book in the Library of Congress, and, ah, bound in black, um, leather...

Friedman: Um hmm.

Valeki: A real thick book.

Friedman: Mm hmm. Now that was done in, ah, in that period, a relatively short period when, ah, Fabyan didn't actually give over the Fabyan collection to the Library of Congress. He had talked about it, and it was tentative, but it

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had not been definitely decided. But then, of course, as, ah, Clarke raises the question in, ah, in his book on my husband, ah...Well, he...He raises some interesting questions that, ah...about who did what, you know, and that kind of thing. I'd have to look it up now. Don't seem to remember exactly what I had in mind. But, ah, something, ah...((long pause)) It'll come to me just now about what...Well, there are so many, ah, so many inadvertent things that Mrs. Gallup did in her honest—bless her hard heart. She was honest and just couldn't help but be frank and...and straight out with...with things, and, ah, you could never, ah...Her knowledge of...of that period of, ah, literature...the Elizabethan period of literature was so great that she couldn't possibly have done any ordinary, charlatan-like trick and gotten away with it, because then, ah, she was...She was too well-versed, and everybody who talked with her could see how very well-versed she was in the Elizabethan period. But of course she began to take that fault that all they...They all fall into; ah, she finally got into taking in everybody, you know: Green, Peel, Marlowe, Spencer—all of them. They all used a biliteral cipher system according to her.

Valaki: Did, your...?

Friedman: Beg your pardon?

Valaki: Did she, ah, sort of continue...Did she ever really give up and admit she was wrong?

Friedman: No. She never give up...gave up and admitted she was wrong. She went back to Detroit. As the years went by, and (1G)...it had become obviously hopeless that Fabyan would ever be able to establish the fidelity of, ah, the Italian and the Roman-type letters in a combined (B% team) to, ah, record messages that otherwise would not be known, or seen, or heard. And, ah, it was obvious, (B% he'd admit)...It comes down to this; he finally had to admit, and Mrs. Gallup herself had to admit, that, well, they had not won their case. They wouldn't say...Well, you know, how it's gracefully said. What is it, the way that phrase goes? Um, at any rate, ah, they just didn't admit defeat. They just, ah, acknowledged that it was impossible. In other words, it...to clarify—their position was thus and so—but to clarify that and make it stick, ah, you would have to, ah, have so many, ah...Well, you...There just were no alternatives. It's either **that** or **that**, ((stressed by speaker)) and that was it. So he sent them back to Detroit, and Mrs. Gallup kept up her, ah, getting more and more fragmentary evidence of, ah, people who still believed in her, and wrote to her, and so on. We never were in contact with her after she left Riverbank. We never saw her nor made any effort to, ah, reach her in any way. We felt it would be dishonest to do so. But we had never been, ah...We had never been deceitful to her or had never led her to believe that we believed in her biliteral cipher. We talked to her about it. We showed her his enlarged, ah, sheets of letters...his sheets of enlarged letters, and, ah, discussed in a gentle way—she was such a gentle...such a sweet person—that, ah, it

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would just be impossible... (B% you) couldn't **ever** ((stress is speakers)) claim that she would be dishonest or deceitful about (B% anything like that). ((Blocked by jet noise.)) It wasn't... Whatever she thought was there, she thought was there, and (4G). And, ah, I don't know whom she saw or what she did with her life after he sent her back to Detroit with her sister, but she died there, I know, in 19... Oh, I... I would hesitate to... I started to say 1934, but I don't know. I... I couldn't tell you whether it was that year or not. I don't remember.

Valaki: Yeah. Was, ah, Professor Manly, ah, taken by... Or he very early, um, decided that it wasn't so?

Friedman: Ah, who was this, (2-3B)?

Valaki: Professor Manly.

Friedman: Yes, Professor Manly...

Valaki: Yes.

Friedman: But then who?

Valaki: Or... Or did Professor Manly himself decide... Was he taken by her arguments?

Friedman: Oh, he did it himself. He... He at first was, ah... There were attempts made to take him in, shall we say? And, ah, then he went through the thing himself, and he was so scornful... very scornful, right out there at Riverbank. I can hear his voice rising with a sharp edge, and, ah... and, ah, pointing out things about the... things that would disprove that there were, ah... There was a... an organized, bilateral cipher. Sure there were two... two types of (B% italic) letters. I mean, not two types of italic, but two types of letters: the italic and the Roman... small Roman. But, ah... And he saw that. That was, ah, before any of the Army business came up and all. I remember it very well. Colonel Fabyan had had him up to Riverbank before, and then since I had specialized in Elizabethan literature, ah, he had Professor Manly out again for me to **wrassle** (sic) ((stressed by speaker)) with him for a weekend.

Valaki: Ah, something you mentioned last time, um, intrigues me. In fact, I thought about it afterwards, and that was that, um, Professor Manly was an amateur cryptographer or cryptanalyst, and this was, ah, quite common in those days, that this is the thing people did.

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: Well, what I was wondering was whether, ah, the people ever communicated with one another, and what they worked on, and what they read?

Friedman: You'd better get knowledge from, ah, Lambros Callimahos. I don't think I remember offhand. I was too busy either getting on this swing or getting off that one. ((Laughs.))

Valaki: Well, I think he possibly about 1916... ((TR Note: Loud aircraft noise here,

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blocking speaker.))

Friedman: I can't hear. (B% Just a minute.)

Valaki: I was thinking about 1916 or so when, ah, I think Manly first came on the scene with respect to the, ah, Baconian cipher. At the time I believe he was considered an amateur cryptographer.

Friedman: Yes, he was. He...He talked about it. I think he must have written some articles...short articles in some small magazine-type thing, because I remember the first way I ever heard of Professor Manly was, ah...that he, as an amateur decipherer was getting a message out—something or other—and I well remember his reading over me...I was sitting at a typewriter, and I had a sheet of paper in there; now, this was in 19...1916 or '17. Couldn't have been any later than '17; it may have been 1916. But it's one of those two years—1916 or '17. And I remember his leaning over me and pushing me on the shoulder, and this and that, you know, getting quite angry and upset that anybody would challenge the great John M. Manly! Oh, my! That was too much to take. Ahh! Colonel Fabyan was so—as I look back on it—was so amusing, you know, and his pathetic childhood, really, ah, manner of, ah, trying to get, ah...to make great people out of ((chuckles)) lesser people, and, ah, then to, ah...((long pause)) try to fit it in, ah, somewhere into the general, ah, principle. Now, he mixed up things so...He mixed up his life in so many ways, I mean, trying to make of himself one...create one kind of picture of himself, and then maybe that wouldn't go just right, and so that was "Uh huh!". Away with that! And then he'd build up another picture of himself doing this, or doing that...something that he felt was desirous to do.

Valaki: Well, there's some interesting th... ah, cuttings in the scrapbook that I found in the Library of Congress. There were some pictures of, ah, Riverbank, of the estate with, ah, foxholes dug in. He brought some GIs to...from...or whatever—doughboys they were then—from France to, ah, dig foxholes...dig trenches, rather—not foxholes; wrong war. And, ah, also there were some boys—ah, the Fabyan Scouts. Did you see anything of them at Riverbank?

Friedman: Ah, they were in existence, but it, um...ah, it was very small and lasted a very short time.

Valaki: (B% They) made it a huge splash in the papers though.

Friedman: Well, it...He did everything for that, you see. Make a big splash; get everybody on your side and then leave...leave...leave it in their hands.

Valaki: Do you know anything—this is just my own curiosity—about, um, the mad-cap heiress who was...I think the name was Moore...Helen Moore? She was, ah, the guardian of a young woman who had been married and...

Friedman: One of these spiritual kind...spiritualet...spiritualist kind of things?

Valaki: I think she was an heiress. She was an heiress and, ah, she was put away for two years, and her guardian... He was her guardian, and he said,

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ah, she was no more mad than I, and had her released.

Friedman: Huh!

Valaki: There was a several-page spread; you know, front page article in the Chicago papers.

Friedman: I don't remember that. I don't remember that, but I'm sure that if I had seen it, I wouldn't have questioned it for a moment. It would be characteristic of...characteristic of him to the last letter (B% that) he should be the one to pronounce whether she was okay or not. That's so typically Fabyan, and you start telling him, well, he can't be right, you...The next thing you know, there'll be a gun rammed down your throat. ((Laughs.)) I don't mean that literally, but that's about...That's the impression that you got of him.

Valaki: Um, there was also some question...In some of the Army documents I found memos that, ah, Fabyan was, ah...shouldn't be trusted with information because he just might publicize it. This was the cipher information.

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: So apparently they weren't keen on letting him in on things, either towards the end or somewhere... at some point or other, I guess they sort of got onto him. But I was wondering at what point...Somewhere he must have been getting messages to decipher and then possibly they stopped. Maybe in mid-1918, I would guess. Or maybe even before then. I don't know when, but I just got the impression that, um...um, Colonel Fabyan was no longer on their favorite list of the Army. But maybe it's because by then the Army had already organized itself.

Friedman: Well, I think there was no question about, ah, Colonel Fabyan being not on that list. I think very definitely the Army had felt sometime earlier than that—quite a while earlier than that—to think he was someone to be held at arm lengths...arm's length and never to be...his suggestions, or advice, or orders, or whatever should never be followed unless passed by the extreme, highest authority.

Valaki: How do you suppose that came about? I mean, that decision came about? Was it just...Do you think the professionals...?

Friedman: Well, I think the Army, ah, finally became, ah...ah, convinced that his interest that was shown in the Army to begin with, like the early days of Hitt and Mauborgne, ah, that, ah, he was simply, ah...He got the Army to say whether or not this was a good thing to do, or a good cipher system to have, to know, to use by the Army. And then, ah...ah, just to, ah, go ahead and...I guess, go ahead and see what happens was the...was the attitude. But they didn't give him...After that first period there with which I've just ended, shall we say, um, they didn't use him at all. And they actually got into this disagreement about, ah, grounds to...What is it? What's that they usually use for the upper atmosphere? Grounds to...I

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used it today—that term—but I can't think of it now.

Valaki: All I can think of is ionosphere, but that may not be right. I don't know what it is.

Friedman: No. It's not as formal a word as that. Well, at any rate, um, the later Signal Corps officers were more just old, standard, square-headed, regular...of the regular Army type officer, and consequently, ah, Mauborgne was left very much alone. He was...loved to draw attention to his violin playing, to his making of violins, to paintings, etchings. A lot of these etchings around here are Mauborgne's. Did I show you? ((TR Note: Friedman and Valaki walk away from the recorder.)) I think...I'm sure these are all Mauborgne's. They're around (XG) My heavens! All of these. These are...Let's see; two, four, six, eight. Eight of these are all Mauborgne's etchings. (B% dry points.) ((TR Note: Another aircraft passing overhead drowns out their conversation.))

Valaki: Oh, my gosh!

Friedman: (XG).

Valaki: He was an extraordinary man. Really a renaissance man.

Friedman: Well, you ought to write something about him to that effect because he...he, ah, grew wood and made violins, contending that the...the wood was specialized...certain woods made good violin cases.

Valaki: (B% Are you saying) (1G) (B% acoustics? I don't know.)

Friedman: And he...He made his violins year after year. He sold them. He sold violins.

Valaki: Yeah. I wonder if (B% any newspapers) (2-3G)? (XG).

Friedman: Well, you know who might...Who might know that? Kullback or Sinkov might know that.

Valaki: Were they friendly with him?

Friedman: Well, not necessarily, but they didn't have to be friends of his necessarily. They would remember. You see, Mauborgne would have been...would have begun right about then, the time that Sinkov and Kullback came on—right about then was when Mauborgne would have been letting go because things were not going, ah, (XG). You know, I think you've...You've got an awfully big job to do. I don't know how you're going to do it in that...that length of time.

Valaki: Well, this is, ah, a government funded job, and you always have time for that. ((Laughs.)) (XG) And I'm sure that there must be another (1G) too (XG)

Friedman: Mm hmm. These are all homes up there in New Jersey. They retired to, ah, I forget which of those New Jersey hills around Fort Monmouth. Ah, to... Red Bank is one of them. Red Bank is not where their home was. (2-3G), and he bought wood and made violins with wood...wood

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appropriate for violins, and aged the wood with ultra-violet; that was a new science (2-3G). He'd try something and if he liked it, why, ah... And, ah, he sold them. Sold a lot of his paintings. And, ah, continued to make violins. Well, he (B% found those) around, ah, a little store in New Jersey. This, ah, (B% for a poet,) (XG) ah, he recognized that much.

Valaki: ((Inaudible.))

Friedman: Right! Right you are! Now, ah, there was a man whose name I can't remember at the moment. His wife could even play the (3G), and, ah, when... when they lived in Washington she had... they had two small sons, and he had this really brilliant idea of, ah, copying great works of art from (XG)... really, ah, (2-3G) copying masters... great works of art and (2G) and, ah, (1G). That (1G) is the first he made, and my cousin, Barbara, talked to her father about it and, ah, (2-3G) and he came to see my husband (B% about it). They signed an agreement (2-3G) to, ah, start a business, so I don't know (2-3G). They moved up to New Jersey, and he started making (2-3G) articles which were actually (3-4G). This is the only... This is a copy of the only (1G) model that, ah, that was saved out of (1-2G). ((Loud bang here.)) (B% Get in the way/Give them away.) If there's anything that is here that would bring anything to your mind, you... Ah, there may be people or things in here that would remind you of something that wouldn't remind me. I don't know. Do you want to sit down and have a look?

Valaki: Thank you. Oh, yes, this is the dedication ceremony. ((TR Note: recorder shut off and restarted here.))

Friedman: ((Cut in))... publicity about this, ah, about (B% Corderan) for some reason or other, and it'll sell for a lot of money and we'll have a lot of copies to satisfy... to sell. And I'm sure he said that... those words, or the equivalent of those words. It would be so typical of him.

Valaki: But he never actually used them himself, and he didn't... never... He saw to it that his staff used them. That's what I find interesting.

Friedman: He saw to it that who used...?

Valaki: Yes, but he himself apparently never saw to it...

Friedman: Oh!

Valaki: Or never insisted that his staff go to these early works and, ah, wring them dry. And I find that very curious. You know, if he was up on things, maybe he did not realize that the... There was still information to be gotten out of, ah, some of those early works. Do you suppose?

Friedman: Well, um, he would... He would hope that som... He would never even deny that anything could be there because that wouldn't be like him at all. He would keep open the last door if it provided even a crack to get into, ah, really, ah, place the articles in, ah, some kind of a... a position that would be of credit to him, if not an actual sale.

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Valaki: I was wondering if he was thinking of exploiting, saving it to exploit in some other way.

Friedman: Well, he's capable of that too. But, ah, he...He never went out and tramped around libraries here and there and looked for things. He...He had all of his agents all around, you know. Here he is, and here's the whole United States ready to serve George Fabyan, and, ah, if George Fabyan's interests, ah, fell in, ah...ah, making violins at, ah, present, well, (B% let it be) that. But, ah, by next week he may have, ah...have, ah, decided that, ah, ((microphone noise)) I'm trying to think of something that, ah, expresses a wide range of articles, but doesn't, ah, eradicate any of them. But I'm...I'm...I don't know that I'm getting anything very good out of that. But, ah, there's no question about George Fabyan being interested in everything. Now, when Mauborgne started making those violins, Fabyan was very much interested in them. Um, he wanted to know if they were any good, and, ah, if they were good enough to sell as concert violins, ah, he wanted to know about it, because his were of the best, and they'd be right in there holding their own. That would be his attitude; in fact, I heard him say it in almost those words.

Valaki: (B% Good) heavens! When was that about? Was that before the Second World War?

Friedman: No, huh uh. No, it would be after the Second World War.

Valaki: After.

Friedman: Now, wait a minute. Wait a minute.

Valaki: Oh, 'cause Fabyan died...

Friedman: No, it couldn't be that.

Valaki: In '36.

Friedman: No. I'm sorry. I've forgotten about what month...Well, the proper dates for (B% the World War). It might have been (2G) in World War II (3G). ((Laughs.)) It never seemed right to me and...(B% more) up there in the seventies. ((Laughs.)) Well, at any rate, ah, he didn't need anybody's encouragement to...to do what would serve his best interests, and that's the way he always acted—plain and simple truth.

Valaki: How...Was...Did Mauborgne write prolifically, do you know?

Friedman: Well, not prolifically, but he read...He wrote prolifically considering the subject he was writing about, because there weren't too many people who would have dared to write about, ah, Signal Corps operations and, ah, broadcast, ah, broadcast systems and, ah, so on. I just don't, ah...I don't quite, ah...Well, he...He would have done anything he thought would promote the name and pursuits of George Fabyan (B% always). When my husband had the squabble with him about not...his name not on the pamphlets at all, he finally, ah, ripped the covers off of those that he had printed and just put Riverbank Laboratory's credit on them, um, and, ah,

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put on, ah, my...my husband's name but not that significant statement: copyright, William F. Friedman. That never appeared at all. He put his name, ah, out...on, ah, I guess it was the same edition. At any rate, he...He permitted Bill's name to appear twice on two different pamphlets, I think. And the rest of the pamphlets were just, you know, put in the files, scattered in with other papers. No! No recognition or copyright at all, not having any copyright. Did you get any information out of J. Rives Childs when you were down there in Virginia about, ah, what, ah...what he did after, ah...Oh, I guess I've...I've known that pretty well. He did, ah...Well, where was he...What I'm trying to get at—and I think I said this once today—From, ah, the June of whatever year that was, to the next November when he appeared with three other young officers as lieutenants...students to be trained under us, we had...We had them for six weeks out there in Illinois.

Valaki: He said...Let me see. From the time he was in the Army he was commissioned, he was an Aide de Camp to General... I believe it was Atkinson, or something like that, or...

Friedman: Akins?

Valaki: Not Akins. Um, maybe it begins with an "F." But anyhow, he was the general's aide, and, ah, somehow he got to the War College, and then in the War College...When he was at the War College is when they asked for volunteers to become cipher and code experts and go to France, and he wanted to go to France and he signed up. And that's how he got into the business.

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: That's what he told me. And so that means he was in...Farnsworth—that's the man's name. He was an aide to General Farnsworth, and then went to the War College, and then, um, went to Riverbank, and then on the boat to England; from England to France; 1917 to 1918. And then after the war was over, he stayed on as deputy to Yardley at the Paris Peace Conference, and then when, ah...Then that was dissolved and he became a newspaper man.

Friedman: Well, he was with the Associated Press at the White House when I first met him, I know.

Valaki: Yes. Uh huh. And then he went to Europe...Somewhere I may have gotten the sequence wrong. But when he went to, um...He was with relief, first to Yugoslavia.

Friedman: That's right.

Valaki: And then, ah...

Friedman: He went with Herbert Hoover. That was after the war and all the war stuff was over.

Valaki: That's right. Mm hmm. Then he came back, and somehow he ended up

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in, um, the Foreign Service...what became the Foreign Service... (B% becomes...) That was in 1923.

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: With...And I imagine...As I understand it, when he came back...or rather, there was also some correspondence with Mr. Friedman, and Mr. Friedman in the thirties was putting out those "Black books"...what we call the "Black books" ((laughs)) because they were bound in black. And, um, also...Because I gather, that you...You saw him on occasion upon his trips home and, ah, his wife, Mrs. Childs. You got to know her (B%...many of them, because, ah,) you got to know her.

Friedman: Mm hmm. Yes, we knew her too. We spent a...a large part of one summer on the Mediterranean when they lived in Nice. You were talking about the Childs, weren't you?

Valaki: Yes.

Friedman: Ah, she was a charming, charming person. She was much older than he. I always thought that, ah, it was a kind of a mother-son relationship rather than husband-wife relationship. Um, well, ah, is there anything I can do to help you along your way of your reaching your goal?

Valaki: Well, I'm going to leave you this question... ((TR Note: audio ends abruptly.))

////////////////////// **End of transcript**//////////////////////